MARYLAND
COLONIZATION JOURNAL.

CONDUCTED BY JAMES HALL, GENERAL AGENT OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

New Series. BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY, 1845. Vol. 2.—No. 20.

"Nothing is more clearly written in the Book of Destiny, than the Emancipation of the Blacks; and it is equally certain that the two races will never live in a state of equal freedom under the same government, so insurmountable are the barriers which nature, habit and opinion have established between them." JEFFERSON.

PRESIDENT TYLER'S MESSAGE ON THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

For lack of matter more pertinent to the subject of Colonization, we take the liberty of copying the following late message of the President.

What is therein made public of the communications of Mr. Wise, our Minister to Brazil, with regard to the practices of speculating mercantile men of all nations, with reference to the Slave Trade, has long since been known to the whole world, although some details of individual cases, coming under the notice of Mr. Wise, may give some additional interest to the subject; not sufficient, however, we should think to warrant a special message from the President. We cannot but hope, that in the communications of Mr. Wise to Mr. Hamilton, the British Envoy referred to in the message, "suggesting measures for the suppression of this evil," we may find something of value, something which will afford an apology for the message, and a ground work for the action of Congress. If Mr. Wise has well considered the subject, he must have come to the conclusion, that *belting the coast with colonies of civilized colored men, is the only method which promises success in abolishing the African Slave Trade.*

If a measure of this kind has been advised by such a man as Mr. Wise, in active political life, of his admitted energy and talents, we are not without hope that the American Government may yet do something to redeem itself from the odium which so justly rests upon it, with regard to its dealing with the African race.

If the object of the message was the recommendation of such a course of policy, we wish for the character of the President and the honour of the country, that it had closed with such a recommendation, without the uncalled-for allusion to the British Government, or the mortifying comparison instituted between that Government and our own, in regard to the treatment of "re-captured Africans." We say mortifying, on the supposition that the FACTS of the case are known to the world, if not to the President of the United States.

In speaking of the re-captured Africans, the Message says:—"From time to time, provisions have been made by this Government for their comfortable

support and maintenance, during a limited period after their restoration, and it is much to be regretted that this liberal policy has not been adopted by Great Britain."

Liberal Policy! Now what are the facts? What has the Government of the United States done in this matter? Why, in a period of twenty-three years it has re-captured and sent out 288 freed slaves to Africa. It has built a decent citizen's dwelling house there for an agent; has partly through the patronage of the Colonization Society, kept an agent there at a yearly salary, of, we believe, less than $2,000; has made some slight appropriations for the support of these re-captures; its vessels which occasionally touched there previous to the "Treaty of Washington," sometimes left a spare boat, a dismounted gun, and a few rounds of cartridges for defence; the expense of the whole, Agent's salary included, during the twenty-three years, falling far short of one hundred thousand dollars. Liberal policy indeed!

What the government of Great Britain has done, in the mean time, we have not authentic statistics from which to form an estimate; but this much we do know. She has expended millions of pounds sterling to induce the governments of Spain and Portugal to abolish the slave trade. She has kept more vessels of war on the coast of Africa, for the sole purpose of suppressing this traffic, than we have in active employ on the high seas. She has sacrificed the lives of thousands of her seamen and naval officers in this cause. She has re-captured and set free *hundreds* where we have *units*, at an enormous sacrifice of life and expense of treasure. She has founded the colony of Sierra Leone, and maintained a civilized government there for the sole purpose of improving the condition of those re-captured slaves. She has planted that whole peninsula with these people, its vallies are filled with thriving villages, and its mountains dotted with their cottages and fields. In fine, all that could be done in that baleful climate, by unlimited wealth and power, advised and directed by those who have devoted their lives to the improvement and amelioration of this unfortunate class of beings, and with a success, under the circumstances, commensurate with the magnitude of the outlay, has been done by the that Government—and now, the President of the United States, in an official message to congress, regrets that our *liberal policy* has not been adopted by Great Britain!

The message then goes on to prove, that the measures pursued by the British Government, tend to perpetuate the slave trade. It says: "Merchants and capitalists furnish the means to carry it on." Now the President *must have known*, that British subjects are prohibited under penalty of death from engaging *directly* or *indirectly* in this traffic; and we challenge the production of one instance where it has not been enforced on sufficient evidence of guilt.

Again: "Manufactures for which the negroes are exchanged, are the products of her workshops." This proves merely that British manufactures suit the African market. They are for sale in every part of the world, and are used on the coast of Africa for the purchase of slaves, for the purchase of African produce in regular legitimate commerce, by vessels of all nations, and by missionaries who go there to preach the gospel to the heathen. So also is the tobacco, the rum, and gunpowder of the United States, articles

which we can produce at a more reasonable rate than Great Britain. Again: "The slaves, instead of being returned back to their homes, are transported to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling the amount of their produce by a system of apprenticeship." The TRUTH is, the slaves who are captured on or near the coast of Africa are sent to Sierra Leone; while those captured on the western continent, or near the West Indies, are landed at the English Islands. And why? Because after one passage across the Atlantic in a slave ship, it is with the utmost difficulty that they can be transported in safety even to the West Indies. With the kindest treatment great loss always occurs after the capture, even but a few days sail from port, owing to the awful condition in which the slaves are found. There is no reason why they should be landed at Sierra Leone instead of Jamaica or Trinidad. As to their being returned to their own homes of which the message afterwards speaks, Mr. Tyler must know that to be impossible. A cargo of slaves is almost always a mixture of people from different tribes of the interior, no one of which perhaps could ever be placed at his own home in safety. As to the apprenticeship system, 'tis monstrously absurd to compare the apprenticing out, of a cargo of ignorant barbarians, men, women, and children, among civilized people, under the supervision of officers of government, for a term of years, until they became acquainted with the habits and customs of civilized life, under proper and wholesome restraint, to condemning them to public sale in the market to perpetual servitude!

The *fling* at the British Government, contained in the three last paragraphs of the message, might have passed unheeded, in an *ad captandum* stump speech of a politician, or been excused as a *capital-making* editorial of a flaming party paper—but coming as it does from our chief magistrate, officially addressed to Congress assembled, it cannot pass unnoticed by the government therein so injudiciously abused, or by the world; but must serve to bring contempt upon the writer and the government which he administers.

As an American state paper, it can only be equalled by the official document addressed by Mr. Calhoun to Lord Pakenham, in which he attempts to prove domestic slavery a blessing to mankind, upon data which every school boy knew to be false, and which Mr. Adams had long before moved in the Hall of Representatives to have corrected.

THE MESSAGE

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

I transmit, herewith, for the information of Congress, copies of certain despatches recently received from Mr. Wise, our Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Court of Brazil, upon the subject of the Slave Trade, developing the means used and the devices resorted to, in order to evade existing enactments upon that subject.

Anxiously desirous as are the United States to suppress a traffic so revolting to humanity, in the efforts to accomplish which they have been the pioneers of civilized States, it cannot but be a subject of the most profound regret, that any portion of our citizens should be found acting in co-operation with the subjects of other Powers, in opposition to the policy of their own Government; thereby subjecting to suspicion and to the hazard of disgrace the flag of their own country. It is true that this traffic is carried on altogether in foreign ports, and that our own coasts are free from its pollution.

But the crime remains the same wherever perpetrated; and there are many circumstances to warrant the belief that some of our citizens are deeply involved in its guilt. The mode and manner of carrying on this trade are clearly and fearlessly set forth in the accompanying documents; and it would seem that a regular system has been adopted for the purpose of thwarting the policy and evading the penalties of our laws. American vessels, with the knowledge, as there are good reasons to believe, of the owners and masters, are *chartered* or rather purchased by notorious slave-dealers in Brazil, aided by English brokers and capitalists, with this intent. The vessel is only nominally chartered at so much per month, while, in truth, it is actually sold, to be delivered on the coast of Africa, the charter party binding the owners, in the mean time, to take on board, *as passengers*, a new crew in Brazil, who, when delivered on the coast, are to navigate her back to the ports of Brazil with her cargo of slaves. Under this agreement, the vessel clears from the United States for some port in Great Britain, where a cargo of merchandise, known as "coast goods" designed especially for the African trade, is purchased, shipped, and consigned, together with the vessel either to the slave dealer himself or to his agents or accomplices in Brazil. On her arrival a crew is put on board *as passengers*, and the vessel and cargo consigned to an equally guilty factor or agent on the coast of Africa, where the unlawful purpose, originally designed, is finally consummated. The merchandise is exchanged for slaves—the vessel is delivered up—her name obliterated, her papers destroyed, her American crew discharged, to be provided for by the charterers, and the new or *passenger* crew put in command to carry back its miserable freight to the first contrivers of the voyage, or their *employees* in Brazil.

During the whole progress of this tortuous enterprise it is possible that neither the American crew originally enlisted, nor the *passenger* crew put on board in the Brazilian ports, are aware of the nature of the voyage, and yet it is on these principally, ignorant, if not innocent, that the penalties of the law are inflicted; while the guilty contrivers, the charterers, the brokers, owners and masters—in short all who are most deeply concerned in the crime and its rewards, for the most part escape unpunished.

It will be seen from the examinations which have recently taken place at Rio, that the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, as well as our own citizens, are deeply implicated in this inhuman traffic. British factors and agents, while they supply Africa with British fabrics in exchange for slaves, are chiefly instrumental in the abuse of the American flag; and the suggestions contained in the letter of Mr. Wise, (whose judicious and zealous efforts in the matter, cannot be too highly commended,) addressed to Mr. Hamilton, the British Envoy, as to the best mode of suppressing the evil, deserve your most deliberate consideration, as they will receive, I doubt not, that of the British Government.

It is also worthy of consideration whether any other measures than those now existing, are necessary to give greater efficacy to the just and humane policy of our laws, which already provide for the restoration to Africa of slaves captured at sea by American cruisers. From time to time, provision has been made by this Government for their comfortable support and maintenance during a limited period after their restoration, and it is much to be regretted that this liberal policy has not been adopted by Great Britain. As it is, it seems to me that the policy it has adopted, is calculated rather to perpetuate than to suppress the trade, by enlisting very large interests in its favour. Merchants and capitalists furnish the means of carrying it on; manufactures for which the negroes are exchanged are the products of her workshops; the slaves, when captured, instead of being returned back to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies,

and made the means of swelling the amount of their products, by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years, and the officers and crew who capture the vessel, receive on the whole number of slaves so many pounds sterling *per capita*, by way of bounty.

It must be obvious, that while these large interests are enlisted in favour of its continuance, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic, and that its results would be in effect but a continuance of the slave trade of another and more cruel form; for it can be but a matter of little difference with the African, whether he is torn from his country and transported to the West Indies, as a slave, in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transported to the same place, and made to perform the same labour under the name of an apprentice; which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted.

It is to be hoped that Her Britannic Majesty's Government will upon a review of all the circumstances stated in these despatches, adopt more efficient measures for the suppression of the trade which she has so long attempted to put down, with, as yet, so little success, and more consonant with the original policy of restoring the captured African to his home.

WASHINGTON, Feb. 19, 1845. JOHN TYLER.

THE METHODIST AFRICAN MISSION.

The following extract, is from an appeal in behalf of the Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, contained in the Christian Advocate and Journal of the 12th inst.

It does not over estimate the importance of that Mission, or the peculiar fitness of Wesleyanism for the native African. Nor is too much stress laid upon the existence of the American colonies on that coast, composed almost exclusively of members of the Methodist Church, from the United States. A slight acknowledgement to the Colonization Societies who have actually placed some four thousand living, acting Missionaries on that coast, we think might not have been out of place in an article like the one here quoted.

Pray where would the African Methodist Mission have been without the colonies? Echo answers, *no*-where.

"But if the same apathy is to continue, we must not only abandon Oregon, but Africa too. Ay, Africa, where the success which has already crowned our efforts is beyond any thing which our fondest anticipations had reached; and when this success, great as it has been, has only afforded a glimpse of that which lies before us if we faithfully improve our advantages. Here God has placed tribes and nations in our hands, who are calling us, instead of waiting to be called. Away in the interior the savage heathen people have heard of the white man's God who is proclaimed on the sea coast—and already they ask to be taught the message of mercy and love which came down from heaven. We repeat it, that nothing but men and means are wanting to bring all the tribes of Africa south of the great desert of Zahara into the obedience of the Gospel within a very few years. Even the present generation may be converted; but if not, the rising generation are ready to be trained in schools, and to be made Christians, so far as they can be made so by a Christian education. Consider for a moment the circumstances in which the people of whom we speak differ from other heathen nations, and which favour their conversion by the agency of mission-

aries. First, then, they have no national religion, or religious establishment. Where this exists it opposes a formidable obstacle to the Gospel, however absurd may be the superstition so established; for the secular interests of the priesthood urge them to resist any change of the national religion, and they will necessarily possess great influence with the people. The missionary must, under such circumstances, expect to encounter hate and persecution proportioned to the danger with which the religion he teaches threatens the priests.

Secondly. In Africa, the kings, and their official functionaries, lose no secular advantages by embracing Christianity. On the contrary, they are even raised by it in the estimation of their heathen countrymen. In many, and perhaps in nearly all other heathen countries, to embrace Christianity is to become obnoxious to priestly revenge, to popular hate, and civil oppression.

Thirdly. The Africans already look upon the white man as their superior, and hence desire to imitate him. The very ability to read and write gives dignity and importance to a colored man among them, and they express their admiration by calling him a white man. It would follow, of course, that they embrace every opportunity to place their children in the schools where it is proposed to teach them to read and write. We might point out many other circumstances which place the people of Africa in a most favorable state for the success of Christian efforts to civilize and Christianize them; but those we have mentioned offer encouragements too strong to be resisted by those whose hearts are in the work.

But we must not omit to mention that God, in his providence, has established Christian colonies along the western coast of Africa, composed of emigrants from our own country, and in which we have Churches, whose piety and Christian deportment are spoken of throughout the world. Our British brethren, alike circumstanced, and on the same coast, are pushing their conquests far into the interior, while we have hardly courage—or rather liberality—to maintain our own ground. Now, we ask again, Shall we abandon Africa, and with it all our foreign missionary ground? If you so determine, we propose that we offer it all to our British brethren, and if they cannot occupy it—albeit they will try hard—let us acknowledge fairly that we are unable or unworthy to possess it, and entreat the brethren of other denominations to relieve us of the burden, and earn the reward which we had once hoped to obtain.

But, brethren, we hope better things of you, though we thus speak, and things which accompany salvation. Yet there is no time to lose. Preachers and people must hasten to the rescue, or the opportunity will soon pass. The General Conference plan is before you, but if you must have your own plan, for the love of Christ, and of the souls of the perishing men, make haste to do that which you purpose to do, and do it with your might."

"A HISTORICAL EXAMINATION OF THE STATE OF SOCIETY IN WESTERN AFRICA, AND THE REMEDIAL INFLUENCE OF COLONIZATION AND MISSIONS."

(*Continued from page* 302.)

Missionary Labours in Western Africa, and their Results.

Perhaps a clearer light may be thrown upon the subject, by a connected view of the various attempts that have been made to introduce civilization and Christianity into Guinea. It need occupy but little space, as the history of far the greater part of them records only the attempts and their failure.

The Portuguese, we have seen, commenced and prosecuted their discoveries under authority from the Pope, to conquer and convert all unbelievers

from Cape Bojador to India. We have seen, too, what a pompous commencement they made at Elmina. Their establishments were at one time numerous along the whole coast of Upper Guinea, and as far north as Arguin. It is said that they every where had chapels, and made efforts at proselytism. The language of historians seems to imply that even the Portuguese mulattoes, when driven inland from the Grain Coast in 1604, built chapels in the interior, and strove to make proselytes. In Congo, they put their candidate on the throne by force of arms, and thus converted the nation. In Upper Guinea, they converted a few, and but a few; as the negroes generally would neither give up polygamy, nor submit to auricular confession. In 1607, Dapper states that the Jesuits found some on the Rio Grande who were willing to receive baptism, but not being prepared for it, it was deferred. The same year, he tells us, the Jesuit Bareira baptized the king of Sierra Leone, his family and several others. He adds, about 1670, "the king still receives baptism, but practices idolatry to please his subjects." According to Bareira's own account, king Philip, whom he baptized, was a hundred years old, and was one of the Cumbas. He professes to have made a more favourable impression on the natives, because he did not engage in the slave trade and other branches of commerce, as all former priests there had done. Labat informs us, that in 1666, Don Philip, a Christian, reigned at Burrè, on the south side of Sierra Leone river, and kept a Jesuit and a Portuguese Capuchin, who preached Christianity, but without effect. Villault, however, says the same year, that "the Portuguese settled here, have made many converts." Barbot asserts that the Portuguese had converted many in Bulm; that is, many of the Bulloms, on the north of the river. The truth seems to be, that they persuaded a considerable number of individuals to receive baptism, but made no general impression upon the people; so that Labat, himself a missionary, considered their attempt a failure. As to the character of their converts, his Don Philip, keeping a Jesuit and a Capuchin to preach Christianity, and yet practising idolatry to please his subjects, is doubtless a fair sample. In 1721, one native of some consequence, nine miles up the river, is mentioned as a Romanist. He had been baptized in Portugal. The expedition for the conversion of the Jaloffs, we have seen, was defeated by the assassination of Bemoi. Still, they made some converts in that quarter. But every where north of Congo, their converts seem to have been confined almost wholly to the dependents on their trading houses; and when these were given up, their religion soon disappeared.

The French missions, so far as we have been able to discover, commenced in 1635, when five Capuchins were sent to the mouth of the Assinee. In a short time, and before they accomplished any thing, three of them died, and the other two retired to Axim. In 1636, several Capuchins of Normandy were sent as missionaries to Cape Verde, one of whom had the title of prefect; "but they left the country, because they could not live in it." In 1674, another company of Capuchins attempted a mission, probably somewhere on the Ivory or Gold Coast; but nothing is known of its results. In 1687, Father Gonsalvez, a Dominican, on his way to India, stopped at Assinee, and left Father Henry Cerizier, with a house and six slaves, to commence a mission. Cerizier died in a few months. In 1700, Father Loyer, who had been sometime in the West Indies, was nominated by the Propaganda and appointed by the Pope, as Apostolic Prefect of Missions in Guinea. He embarked at Rochelle, April 18, 1701, having with him Father Jaques Villard as a missionary, and Aniaba, who, he says had been given to Gonsalvez by Zenan, king of Assinee, and educated and baptized in France. The European Mercury announced his baptism in the following paragraph:—

"Here is another pagan prince brought over to the Christian faith;—namely, Lewis Hannibal, King of Syria, on the Gold Coast of Africa; who, after being a long time instructed in the Christian principles, and baptized by the bishop of Meaux, the king being his godfather, received the sacrament of the Lord's Supper on the 27th of February, from the Cardinal de Noailles, and offered at the same time a picture of the Blessed Virgin, to whose protection he submitted his territory; having made a vow, at his return thither, to use his utmost endeavours towards the conversion of his subjects."

On arriving at Grand Sesters, Aniaba went on shore, and, Loyer says, "lived eight days among the negresses, in a way which edified nobody." They touched on the Quaqua coast, and found the people to be cannibals, eating negroes frequently, and all the white men they could get into their possession. June 25, they reached the Assinee. After a short negotiation for the ground, a fort was built near the eastern shore of the river, at its mouth, and a garrison left for its defence. Aniaba proved worthless. The mission accomplished nothing. Loyer left in 1703. The garrison found it difficult to maintain itself against repeated attacks, and in 1705 the whole establishment was given up.

Who this Aniaba really was, is a matter of some uncertainty. In France, he was certainly represented as the son of Zenan, king of the Assinees, sent thither for education; and in this character he served for a while as a captain in the French cavalry. Loyer, writing after his disappointment, and with evident mortification, merely represents him as one whom Zenan had given to Gonsalvez. Bosman, to whom we are indebted for the extract from the Mercury, says that he was originally a slave among the Assinees; that a Frenchman obtained possession of him and carried him home, intending to keep him for a valet; that he had shrewdness enough to gull French bishops and cardinals into the belief of his royal descent; and that on his return, he was forced back into the service of his old Assinee master.

Loyer, while there, made some missionary efforts. On one occasion, in the presence of the natives, he broke a fetish into a thousand pieces, trod it under his feet, and then cast it into the fire. They all fled, saying that the lightning would blast him, or the earth swallow him up. Seeing that he remained unharmed, they said it was because he did not believe; on which he exhorted them to be unbelievers too. But his exhortations were in vain. His English editor asks,—"How would he have liked to have had one of his own fetishes so treated? A negro, or a Protestant, would be put to death for such an offence in most popish countries." Villault, in 1667, had used the same argument on the Gold Coast, and as he thought, with more success. He broke the negroes' fetishes, and told them to sign themselves with the cross, and the fetish could not hurt them. Many came to him and exchanged their fetishes for crucifixes, which they evidently regarded as only stronger fetishes.

Loyer represents the negroes as trickish and subtle, great liars and thieves, "the most deceitful and ungrateful people in the universe."

The first Spanish mission to this part of the world, so far as we can learn, was commenced in 1652, when fifteen Capuchins were sent to Sierra Leone. Twelve of them were taken prisoners by the Portuguese, who were then at war with Spain. The other three are said to have converted some of the people, baptized some of their princes, and built churches in some of their chief towns. They were reinforced in 1657, and again in 1664. In 1723, the Pope's nuncio in Spain announced that the mission was extinct. In 1659, certain Capuchins of Castile attempted a mission at Ardra, on the Slave Coast; but they soon gave it up, on finding that the king only pretended to turn Christian, for the sake of encouraging trade with Spain.

We find no mention of any other Roman Catholic mission in Upper Guinea, till the late attempt at Cape Palmas. From the formal commencement of the mission at Elmina, in 1482, eleven years after the complete discovery of the coast, to the abandonment of Sierra Leone, in 1723, was 241 years of Roman Catholic missionary effort. After so long a trial, and for the greater part of the time in the most favourable circumstances for the missionaries, the religion of *Guinea* proved too strong an antagonist for the religion of *Rome*. What little impression they made on a few of their dependents, was soon effaced, and Romanism in Guinea has long since ceased to exist. A boastful view of Romanism and its missions, in the Annals of the Propagation of the Faith for June, 1839, claims no mission in all Western Africa, nor any Catholics, except in the French settlement on the Senegal, any where between Congo and Morocco. Probably, however, they might claim the inmates of a small Portuguese trading house or two, some where about the mouth of the Rio Grande.

Of the Dutch, we only find reason to believe that they made some slight attempts to proselyte the negroes immediately around their castles and trading houses. The Portuguese say that the negroes, "being barbarians, readily enough swallowed Calvin's poison;" the meaning of which doubtless is, that the Dutch taught them to despise popery. Artus mentions attempts of Dutch residents to instruct them, and speaks of one who had been so instructed by a monk at Elmina, that he was able to quote Scripture in reply. Bosman, a sturdy Dutch Protestant, says that if it were possible to convert them, the Romanists would stand the best chance for success; because they already agree with them in several particulars, especially in their ridiculous ceremonies, their abstinence from certain kinds of food at certain times, their reliance on antiquity, and the like. The negroes seem to have reasoned differently, and to have thought so small a change not worth the making. Bosman's remark, however, shows that the Dutch accomplished but little among them.

The Moravians were the first Protestants who seriously undertook the work of missions in Guinea. In 1736, they sent out two missionaries, one of whom was a mulatto, born in that country. His colleague soon died, and he returned. Their efforts were resumed from time to time, till 1770. In all, five distinct efforts were made, and eleven missionaries sent out. The mulatto accompanied several of the expeditions, and died in 1769. The other ten all died in Guinea, before they had been there long enough to be useful. Probably, all these attempts were on the Gold Coast.

Of English efforts to civilize and evangelize Western Africa, we find no notice till 1787, when a colony of free blacks from America was commenced at Sierra Leone. The land on which they settled was purchased of the natives, who soon after attempted to drive them off or exterminate them. When visited in 1789, half their number had perished by violence or disease, and the remainder had taken refuge on Bance Island. In 1791 and 1792, the colony was reinforced by 1,200 blacks from Jamaica, who had at first settled in Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. The history of this colony is marked by an almost uninterrupted series of gross blunders and mismanagement; but being a well meant enterprise, mainly on right principles, and sustained with true English pertinacity, it has continued to grow, and has been of immense value to Africa. For twenty years it watched the operations of the British slave trade, and furnished much of the information which induced the British Parliament to abolish it in 1807. And when that act had been passed, it could have been little else than a dead letter, had there not been a rendezvous for the squadron, a seat for Courts of Admiralty, and a receptacle for recaptured Africans, at Sierra Leone. But for this colonization of Africa with the civilized descendants

of Africans, that act might never have been passed, and if passed, must have been nearly inoperative.

In 1792, an attempt was made to promote civilization in Africa, by a colony of whites, of which Capt. Beaver, an officer in the expedition, afterwards published an account, which we have not been able to obtain. We only learn that the attempt was made by a "philanthropic association" in England; that they sent out three ships, with 275 colonists; that they commenced a settlement on Bulama Island, near the mouth of the Rio Grande; that they employed only the free labour of colonists and hired negroes; that they suffered much from the African fever, many died, others returned, and in two years the colony was extinct.

In 1795, several English families went to Sierra Leone, for the purpose of establishing a Mission among the Foulahs; but after arriving in Africa, and considering the obstacles, they returned without commencing their labours.

In 1797, the Edinburgh Missionary Society sent out two missionaries, who commenced a mission among the Soosoos on the Rio Pongas; the Glasgow Society sent out two, who commenced on the Island of Bananas; and the London Society two, who began among the Bulloms. In 1800, one of them, Mr. Brunton, returned, enfeebled by disease; but afterwards engaged in a mission at Karass near the Caspian Sea. Mr. Greig, his colleague, had been murdered by a party of Foulahs. The other four had fallen victims to the climate.

The Church Missionary Society, then called the "Society for Missions in Africa and the East," sent out its first missionaries in 1804. They were Germans; for, after several years of effort, no English missionaries could be procured. Two years before, the Sierra Leone Company had been seeking five years in vain for a chaplain. The missionaries arrived at Sierra Leone, April 14. A subsequent Report states, that they would have been instructed to commence their labours in the colony, had there not been obstacles to their usefulness there, of the nature of which we are not informed. As it was, they resided in the colony, and sought for stations beyond its borders. In 1806, two others were sent out, one of whom, Mr. Nylander, was induced to serve as chaplain of the colony, which he continued to do till 1812. These two last were accompanied by William Fantimani, the son of a chief at Rio Pongas, educated at Clapham. The Report for 1808 informs us, that the missionaries had continued their search for stations out of the colony, but had every where been met by insurmountable obstacles. That year, however, in March, they were able to commence two stations on the Rio Pongas, Fantimania, and Bashia. Fantimania in a short time was found impracticable. It was abandoned, and a new station commenced at Canoffee. In 1809, two others were sent out, one of whom soon died. One of the older brethren also died. In 1811, two more were sent out. In 1812, three mechanics were sent out. Mr. Nylander resigned his chaplaincy, and commenced a new station among the Bulloms. In the autumn, the chiefs on the Rio Pongas held a palaver, in relation to sending the missionaries out of the country, on the pretence that their presence injured the trade, that is, the slave trade. In 1813, two of the mechanics and the wife of one of them died. Troubles with the natives continued. In 1814, they suffered much from sickness. The other mechanic and the widow of another died. The opposition of the natives increased. A new station was commenced on the Rio Dembia, and called Gambier. Mr. Klein, the missionary, finding no prospect of usefulness, removed to the Isles de Los, staid there half a year, and meeting insurmountable opposition, removed to Kapuru, on the continent, among the Bagoes. These events may have extended into the next year. Their attention was now turning to the colony.

In 1815, seven male and female missionaries and two educated natives were sent out. Four of the seven, two of their children, and two of the older members of the mission died. In January, the three principal buildings at Bashia, with the libraries, were burned by the natives. Mr. Hughes and his wife, one of the seven above mentioned, set out for home to save her life; but stopped at Goree, as she was unable to proceed. Here her health improved, and they opened a school. In 1816, four teachers with their wives were sent out. The Rev. Edward Bickersteth, Assistant Secretary, visited the mission. He thought the colony, which now contained 9,000 or 10,000 inhabitants, most of whom were recaptured Africans, the most promising field of usefulness. The "Christian Institution" had already a goodly number of pupils, and they were erecting extensive buildings for its permanent accomodation. Governor Mac Carthy wrote:—"I conceive that the first effectual step towards the establishment of Christianity, will be found in the division of this peninsula into parishes, appointing to each a clergyman to instruct his flock in Christianity, and enlightening their minds to the various duties and advantages inherent to civilization; thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa." The division into parishes was in progress. Bashia was given up. Preaching was commenced at Lissa and Jesulu, near Canoffee. A chapel was built at Lissa. In 1817, the troubles from the natives continued to increase. The Society announced its expectation of being compelled to abandon all its stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1818, February 16, the missionaries in a general meeting at Freetown, decided to withdraw from the Rio Pongas. Those stations were accordingly abandoned. It was also found necessary to retire from Yongroo among the Bulloms, though only seven miles from Freetown, the capital of the colony. Goree was restored to the French, and the station abandoned. July 14, a proclamation in the Sierra Leone Gazette announced the occupation of the Isles de Los as British Territory. Mr. Klein was appointed pastor there, closed his station among the Bagoes, and entered upon the duties of his office. The Society had now no station beyond the limits of the colony. It was intimated that their relinquishment might be only temporary; but it has never yet been found advisable to renew them.

According to the latest accounts, this mission now has 14 stations, 62 labourers, 1,275 communicants, 6,086 attendants on public worship, and 5,475 pupils in its schools. One of these stations is at Port Lokkoh, in the Timmanee country; but whether in that part of the country which has been fully ceded to the colony, or that which is merely in a state of dependent alliance, we have not been able to ascertain.

The English Wesleyan mission in the colony, which was commenced about the year 1817, reports 2,371 members, 23 paid teachers, and 1,462 pupils. The Wesleyans have also stations at the British posts on the Gambia and Gold and Slave Coasts. Supported by the latter, they are attempting an inland station among the Ashantees; but the result is yet very doubtful.

Some passages in the works from which these facts have been gathered, seem to refer to still other attempts to enlighten Western Africa; but if there were others, they came to an end so soon and so fruitlessly, as to leave no record that has reached us.

American attempts—with the exception of one or two private efforts, which led to no results—commenced with the planting of Liberia, in 1822. Their history is before the public in various forms, and need not be repeated here. They have led to the establishment of two civilized republics, the planting of nearly thirty Christian churches, and the conversion and civilization of hundreds of the natives; besides all that they have done for the suppression

of piracy and the slave trade, and the general improvement of that part of the world.

Recapitulation—Conclusion.

Such have been the leading facts in respect to Western Africa from the time of Ibn Haukal to the present day,—about nine centuries. From the first purchase of negro slaves by Portuguese voyagers, has been 402 years; from the first discovery of the negro country by the Portuguese, 397 years; from the discovery of Cape Mesurado, 382 years; and from the complete exploration of the coast of Upper Guinea, 373 years; and this, even if we reject the accounts of the French, who profess to have had trading posts where Liberia now is, 498 years ago. At our earliest dates, the natives were idolaters of the grossest kind, polygamists, slave holders, slave traders, kidnappers, offerers of human sacrifices, and some of them cannibals. For four centuries, or five if we receive the French account, they have been in habits of constant intercourse with the most profligate, the most licentious, the most rapacious, and in every respect the vilest and most corrupting classes of men to be found in the civilized world,—with slave traders, most of whom were pirates in every thing but courage, and many of whom committed piracy whenever they dared,—and with pirates in the fullest sense of the word. Before the year 1600, the influence of these men had been sufficient to displace the native languages in the transaction of business, and substitute the Portuguese, which was generally understood and used in their intercourse with foreigners; and since that time, the Portuguese has been in like manner displaced by the English. By this intercourse, the natives were constantly stimulated to crimes of the deepest dye, and thoroughly trained to all the vices of civilization which savages are capable of learning. During the most fearful predominance of undisguised piracy, from 1688 to 1730, their demoralization went on, especially upon the Windward Coast, more rapidly than ever before, and became so intense, that it was impossible to maintain trading houses on shore; so that, on this account, as we are expressly informed, in 1730, there was not a single European factory on that whole coast. Trade was then carried on by ships passing along the coast, and stopping wherever the natives kindled a fire as a signal for traffic. And this continued to be the usual mode of intercourse on that coast, when the British Parliament, in 1791, began to collect evidence concerning the slave trade. Nor were factories re-established there, till the slave trade and its attendant vices had diminished the danger by depopulating the country.

It appears, too, that nothing has ever impeded or disturbed the constant flow of this bad influence, but Colonization and its consequences. The Colony of Sierra Leone was planted, as a means of resisting and ultimately suppressing the slave trade. The testimony which it collected and furnished during twenty years of labour and suffering, was the principal means of inducing the British Parliament to pass the act of 1807, abolishing that traffic. From that time to the present, it has rendered indispensable assistance in all that has been done to enforce that act. Through its influence, the slave trade is suppressed, slavery itself is abolished, and a Christian and civilized negro community* of 40,000 or 50,000 persons is established, on the territory which it controls. Liberia, only about one third as old, has expelled slave traders and pirates from 300 miles of coast, with the exception of a single point, brought a native population of 10,000 or 15,000, by their own consent, under the protection and control of a civilized republican

* That is Christian and civilized in respect to the character of its government and institutions, and the predominant character of the people; though multitudes of the inhabitants, but lately rescued from the holds of slave ships, are just beginning to learn what Christianity and civilization are.

government which does not tolerate slavery, and brought from 60,000 to 100,000 more to renounce the slave trade and other barbarous usages. Still later, another British settlement of recaptured Africans on the Gambia has begun to do the same good work in that region. Beyond Cape Palmas, a few British, Dutch and Danish forts overawe the natives in their immediate vicinity, and one of them protects a mission. Elsewhere, the work is not even begun.

The summary of Christian missions without Colonization may be given in a few words. The Roman Catholics come first. Omitting the French statement, of a chapel built at Elmina in 1387, let us begin with the Portuguese mission at that place, in 1482. Romish missions continued till that of the Spansih Capuchins at Sierra Leone was given up in 1723, which was 241 years. They made no impression, except upon their immediate dependents; and what they made, was soon totally obliterated. Their stations were numerous along the whole coast; but every vestige of their influence has been gone, for many generations.

Protestant missionary attempts were commenced by the Moravians in 1736, 108 years ago, and continued till 1770. Five attempts cost eleven lives, and effected nothing. The account of them scarce fills a page in Crantz's "History of the Brethren."

English attempts have been more numerous. That of Capt. Beaver at Bulama Island, in 1792, does not appear to have been distinctively of a missionary character, though it must have contemplated the introduction and diffusion of Christianity, as one of its results and means of success. It failed in two years, and with the loss of more than 100 lives. The mission to the Foulahs, in 1795, found, when at Sierra Leone, insuperable obstacles to success, and returned without commencing its labours. The three stations commenced by the London, Edinburgh and Glasgow Societies in 1797, were extinct, and five of the six missionaries dead, in 1800. The Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804; but it was four years before they could find a place out of the Colony, where they could commence their labours. They established and attempted to maintain ten stations, viz. Fantimania, Bashia, Canoffee, Lissa and Jesula, on or near the Rio Pongas, Gambier on the Rio Dembia, Gambier on the Isles de Los, Gambier among the Bagoes, Goree, and Yongroo among the Bulloms. Goree was given up to the French and abandoned. The hostility of the natives, who preferred the slave traders to them, drove the missionaries from the other nine, and forced them to take refuge in the colony of Sierra Leone, the only place where they could labour with safety and with hope. Here, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, are eighteen Protestant missionary attempts before the settlement of Liberia, all of which failed from the influence of the climate and the hostility of the natives. Since the settlement of Liberia, attempts to sustain missions without colonial protection have been made at Half Cavally, within the territorial limits of Cape Palmas, and at Rockbokah and Taboo, in its immediate vicinity, and within the reach of its constant influence. The result has been already stated. The mission of the Presbyterian Board has been removed to Settra Kroo, about seventeen miles from the Mississippi settlement at Sinou. Death has reduced its numbers to a single widow, who teaches a school. As the Kroos have bound themselves by their late treaty with the Liberian government, "to foster and protect the American missionaries;" and as the mission is placed where no hostile act can long be concealed from that government, it may be regarded as safe under colonial protection. The mission of the American Board has been removed from Cape Palmas, about 1,250 miles, to the River Gaboon, in Lower Guinea, and placed among a people, whom the missionaries represent as much superior to any within the region em-

braced in these resarches. Its labours here commenced in July, 1842. It is yet uncertain, therefore, whether it will be able to maintain its ground, even as long as did the English mission at the Rio Pongas. An attempt, the success of which is yet doubtful, to establish a "Mendi Mission," between Sierra Leone and Liberia, where the vicinity of both those colonies will diminish the danger; two or three English Wesleyan stations, protected by the British Forts on the Gold and Slave Coasts; the missions in South Africa, most of which are within the Cape Colony, and the remainder among tribes under its influence and deriving safety from its power; an attempt to open intercourse with the nominal Christians of Abyssinia; a small English mission to the Copts at Cairo, and still smaller French mission at Algiers,—if this last still exists,—complete the list, so far as we can learn, of Protestant missionary attempts on the continent of Africa. To these, add the attempt of Capt. Beaver, and others to promote civilization by a colony of Englishmen at Bulama Island in 1792, and the late disastrous Niger expedition of the British government, and we have the sum total of Protestant expeditions for the improvement of African character.

The failure of the Niger expedition prostrates for the present, and probably forever, the hope which it was intended to realize; the hope of opening an intercourse with the less demoralized nations of the interior, by ascending that river. It has shown that we must reach the countries on the Niger from the west, by the route pointed out by Gen. Harper in 1817, and followed by the Portuguese mulattoes in 1660. Of all Atlantic ports, Monrovia is probably the nearest to the boatable waters of the Niger. The Atlantic termination of the route must be somewhere from Liberia to Sierra Leone, inclusive. Nor is there any reason to hope that this route can ever be made available for any purpose of practical utility, till Colonization has, in a good degree, civilized the country through which it must pass. We *must* begin by civilizing and Christianizing the population on the coast.*

*If any are alarmed at the supposed expensiveness of our enterprise, we would suggest to them, in the first place, that the thought of leaving Africa forever in her present horrible condition, for the sake of avoiding any expense whatever, is unchristian, and not be entertained for a moment. Africa must be converted; and whatever expense is really necessary for that purpose, must be incurred. In the second place, we would submit the following estimate, by the late Secretary of the Navy, of the expense of the squadron of 80 guns, which the United States is bound by the Ashburton treaty, to keep on the African coast for the suppression of the slave trade. It is dated Dec. 29, 1842, and was made in obedience to a resolution of the Senate, of the 14th of that month:—

Number and class of vessels.	Cost of the vessels.	Ann'l cost of repairs, and wear and tear.	Number of officers.	Number of petty officers, seamen, and marines.	Annual expense under all heads of expenditures, except wear and tear.
Two sloops of 1st class,	$257,655	$20,000	42	366	$133,986
Four brigs or schooners,	166,587	20,000	40	260	107,196
Total,	424,242	40,000	82	626	241,182

According to this estimate, the expense of a brig or schooner, including interest on her first cost, is $34,297 a year, or $2,858 a month. On the 300 miles of coast which we wish to possess, there is still one slave factory,—at New Cess. The expense of watching that factory two months, with the smallest vessel in the squadron, would be amply sufficient to purchase New Cess, settle it with emancipated slaves from Tennessee, and thus stop the slave trade there for ever. Again: The 150 miles of coast, or thereabouts, which we wish to purchase, will cost, it is supposed, $15,000 or $20,000; say $20,000, which is 133⅓ dollars a mile. This is probably high enough, as the last purchase of ten miles cost but thirty dollars a mile. The whole slave trading coast of Western Africa is estimated,

And this work is going on successfully, by the colonization of the coast with civilized men of African descent. Sierra Leone has done much, notwithstanding its great and peculiar disadvantages. Its thousands, among whom all the safety of civilization is enjoyed, have already been mentioned. Liberia Proper has under its jurisdiction, a population of 15,000 or more, among whom any missionary who can endure the climate, may labor without danger and without interruption. Of these, more than 10,000 are natives of the country, in the process of civilization. Of these natives, about 1,500 are so far civilized that the heads of families among them are thought worthy to vote, and do vote, at elections; 353 are communicants in the several churches; and the remainder, generally, are merely unconverted human beings, who have some respect for Christianity, and none for any other religion. Among these, neither the slave trade nor slavery is tolerated. Besides these, numerous tribes, comprising a population of from 50,000 to 100,000, and according to some statements, a still greater number, have placed themselves by treaty under the civilizing influence of the colony; have made the slave trade and various other barbarous and heathenish usages unlawful, and many of them have stipulated to foster and protect American missionaries. The territory of these allied tribes is supposed to extend half way to the waters of the Niger. Several missionary stations have already been established among them, with perfect confidence in their safety.

The Maryland colony at Cape Palmas, though but ten years old, and numbering less than 700 emigrants, has also proved a safe field for missionary labor.

Still later, it would seem, though we have not been able to obtain exact information, the British government has settled about 1,500 liberated Africans from Sierra Leone, on the Gambia; some of them, probably, at Bathurst, near the mouth of the river; and some of them, certainly, at Macarthy's Island, 300 miles from its month. At both of these settlements, the English Wesleyan missions are flourishing. That at Bathurst reckons 279 converts, and the other 254.

It has usually been supposed, that sensible and candid men may learn from experience. If so, it would seem that such a variety of experiments, extending through four centuries, and all pointing to the same conclusion, might suffice to teach them. Consider the numerous attempts by Romanists of different nations and orders, Portuguese, Spaniards and French, Capuchins, Dominicans and Jesuits, and by Protestants of divers nations and communions, to sustain missions there without colonies, and always with the same result. Consider, too, that every attempt to introduce Christianity and civilization by colonizing Africa with people of African descent, has been, in a greater or less degree, successful. Every such colony planted, still subsists, and wherever its jurisdiction extends, has banished piracy and the slave trade; extinguished domestic slavery; put an end to human sacri-

in round numbers, at 4,000 miles. This includes some long tracts of coast, on which there is no slave trade; but let that pass. The whole 4,000 miles, if in the market at 133⅓ dollars a mile, would cost $533,333. The annual expense of our squadron of 80 guns, including interest on the first cost, is $306,686. Its expense in two years is $613,272; being enough to buy the whole 4,000 miles, and leave a surplus of $79,939, or $38,868 a year to be expended in colonization. And yet again: The whole expense of this work can by no means be allowed to fall upon this country. The annual expense of the British squadrons employed in watching the slave trade, for several years past, has been estimated at £500,000, or about $2,437,500, and there is no probability that it can be diminished, if the present system be continued, for many years to come. Here is a sum, large enough to meet the expense of purchasing and colonizing to any desirable extent, and with any desirable rapidity. The most difficult parts of the coast to manage are the possessions of Portugal, a power almost wholly under the protection and dictation of Great Britain. Here is money enough to pay for them all, and thus end that part of the trouble at once and forever.

fices and cannibalism; established a constitutional civil government, trial by jury and the reign of law; introduced the arts, usages and comforts of civilized life, and imparted them to more or less of the natives; established schools, built houses of worship, gathered churches, sustained the preaching of the gospel, protected missionaries, and seen native converts received to Christian communion. *Not a colony has been attempted, without leading to all these results.*

In view of these facts,—while we readily grant that some Liberians sing, pray and exhort too loud at their religious meetings; that some profess much piety, who have little or none; that some of the people are indolent and some dishonest, and that some of their children play pranks in school, all greatly to the annoyance of white missionaries worn down by the fever,—still, we claim that the influence of colonization is favourable to the success of Missions, to the progress of civilization, and of Christian piety. As witnesses, we show, in the colonies of Cape Palmas, Liberia Proper, Sierra Leone and on the Gambia, more than one hundred missionaries and assistant missionaries, many of them of African descent, and some of them native Africans, now engaged in successful labors for the regeneration of Africa. We show the fruits of their labors,—more than five thousand regular communicants in Christian churches, more than twelve thousand regular attendants on the preaching of the gospel, and many tens of thousands of natives, perfectly accessible to missionary labors. All this has been done since the settlement of Sierra Leone in 1787, and nearly all since the settlement of Liberia in 1822. We show, as the result of the opposite system,* after nearly four centuries of experiment, and more than a century of Protestant experiment, a single station, with one missionary and perhaps one or two assistants, at Kaw Mendi, under the shadow of two colonies, and one mission which has retired from the field of our inquiries to Lower Guinea; neither of which has occupied its ground long enough to exert any appreciable influence in its vicinity, or even to ascertain the possibility of effecting a permanent establishment.†

We claim, therefore, that the question is decided; that the facts of the case, when once known, preclude all possibility of reasonable doubt. We claim that the combined action of Colonization and Missions is proved to be an effectual means, and is the only known means, of converting and civilizing Africa.

And who, that believes this, will not give heart and hand to the work? Need we, after all that has been said, appeal to sympathy? Need we here repeat the catalogue of horrors from which Africa groans to be delivered? Need we mention the slave trade, devouring five hundred thousand of her children annually; her domestic slavery, crushing in its iron bondage more slaves than exist in the whole wide world besides; her ruthless despotisms, under which not even the infant sleeps securely: her dark and cruel superstitions, soaking the graves of her despots with human blood; her rude palaces, adorned with human skulls; her feasts, made horrid with human flesh? Shall not a work, and the only work, which has proved itself able to grapple with and conquer these giant evils, be dear to every heart that loves either God or man? It must be so. The piety and philanthropy of Christendom cannot refrain from entering this open door, and transforming those dread abodes of wretchedness and sin, into habitations of Christian purity, and peace, and joy.

* The Wesleyan mission protected by British forts on the Gold Coast, does not belong to the opposite system.

† If missions should now prove successful beyond the limits of colonial jurisdiction, it would only prove that the beneficial influence of colonization is felt along the whole coast, and has rendered missionary success practicable, where it was formerly impracticable.